Chapter 16 Visions of National Identity

Figure 16-1 Jane Ash Poitras, a Cree-Chipewyan artist from Alberta, created this mural — *Those Who Share Together, Stay Together.* The artwork, which measures 3.7 metres by 4.3 metres, presents her view of Canada's history and her hopes for the country's future.

JANE ASH POITRAS — IN HER OWN WORDS

On her inspiration for the mural

> I thought about Canada being part of Mother Earth, so the middle part shows Canada's landscape, with Québec as the heart of the country and the Maritimes as the birthplace. I also put Native elements on the provincial shields at the top and used a Québec Montagnais design for the Québec section.

On finding ways to live together peaceably and with justice

> We have to be colour blind. For example, I use a lot of colour in my art, but I don't see myself as a Native artist. I see myself as a person. I want to know about other people's heritage, culture, and beliefs, but it doesn't matter what colour they are.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent should I embrace a national identity?

In 1997, Jane Ash Poitras created *Those Who Share Together, Stay Together* for the art gallery of the Confederation Centre of the Arts in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. The mural is part of an exhibit titled Telling Stories: Narratives of Nationhood. The gallery explains the purpose of the exhibit this way: "Looking at artistic voices represented across Canada, it becomes clear that our identity — who and what we are as individuals, communities, regions, and a country — can never be told in just one story. The cultures, histories, and relationships among Canadian communities have always been changing."

Poitras captured this spirit when she said, "The world embraces a diversity of cultures with parallels that spring from Mother Earth. Spirituality is in every thread of every nation and it falls to us to find the needle to weave the thread into a testimony of beauty."

Examine the mural on the previous page. As you examine the image, respond to these questions:

- Which world events and histories do you think influenced Jane Ash Poitras as she created this mural?
- Which national identities are represented in the mural?
- How would you interpret Poitras's vision of Canada's future?
- What is the significance of the title of the mural?
- If you were creating a mural showing your vision of Canada's past and future, what images would you include? What title might you give it?
- How would these images represent your vision of your national identity?

KEY TERMS

cosmopolitan

asymmetrical federalism

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will respond to the following questions as you explore the extent to which you should embrace a national identity:

- What are some possible visions of nation?
- What are some possible visions of Canada?
- What is your vision of national identity?

My Journal on Nationalism

As you progressed through the previous 15 chapters, you recorded your thoughts on your understandings of nationalism. As you work through this final chapter, try to reach a personal conclusion about the key course issue: To what extent should we embrace nationalism?

What are some possible visions of nation?

CheckBack

You explored understandings of nation and the concept of a civic nation in Chapter 1.

National identity is, in general, a collective or group identity that is based on linguistic, ethnic, cultural, religious, geographic, spiritual, or political understandings of nation — and it often combines two or more of these understandings.

In some cases, people combine aspects of these understandings of nation with a concept of themselves as a civic nation. Japan, for example, can be viewed as a civic nation because it has a parliamentary government and a legal system based in civil law. But most Japanese people also share common racial, cultural, and linguistic characteristics. Ethnic Japanese people, for example, make up 98.5 per cent of the population, and 84.5 per cent of Japanese people practise both Shintoism and Buddhism. The language of the country is Japanese.

The national identity of the Japanese people evolved over centuries. For hundreds of years, Japanese people identified mainly with the feudal lords who ruled their region of the country. But in the 19th century, when Japan united against threats of invasion by Britain, Russia, and France, a sense of national identity began to emerge. In the years leading up to World War II, the country's education system emphasized patriotism and respect for traditional culture and beliefs.

This educational emphasis changed after the war, but it began to re-emerge in the early 21st century. In 2006, for example, Japan passed a law requiring teachers to evaluate students' level of patriotism, as well as their interest in learning about their country's traditional culture.

If one measure of your school performance were based on your patriotism and interest in learning about Canadian culture, how would this affect your sense of national identity? Explain your response.

FYI

Manga cartoons originated in Japan, and this style of graphic novel has been exported to the world. But some manga books published recently in Japan have begun to encourage hatred of other cultures. One of these books, titled *The 100 Crimes of China*, described China as the most evil country in the world. Another was titled *Why We Should Hate South Korea*. Though many Japanese people are disturbed by publications like these, the books have found an audience.

When nations do not have a nation-state of their own, national identity may be based on religious and linguistic, as well as cultural and ethnic, understandings. Tibet, for example, has been Buddhist since the eighth century. The people speak the Tibetan language and follow ancient cultural traditions.

But by 2008, an influx of ethnic Chinese people had changed the makeup of Tibet's population. The Government of Tibet in Exile estimated that ethnic Chinese people outnumbered Tibetans. Many Tibetans want to be free of Chinese control and determine for themselves how their nation will evolve — but this goal may become more difficult to achieve as the region's population continues to change.

Figure 16-2 A pilgrim lights a butter lamp at Tibet's holiest Buddhist shrine, the 1300-year-old Jokhang Temple in Lhasa. Some pilgrims spend years travelling on foot over great distances to reach this shrine. How do actions like this reflect Tibetan national identity?

Pluralism and Diversity

By 2008, more people than ever were migrating around the world. The citizens of many nation-states — including Canada and the United States — come from diverse backgrounds and cultures and bring unique experiences, points of view, and perspectives to their new homes.

A pluralistic society reflects an inclusive approach that is characterized by respect for diversity. It assumes that diversity is beneficial and that cultural, religious, spiritual, ideological, gender, linguistic, environmental, and philosophical groups should enjoy autonomy.

Evolving Identities

As people move from one country to another, they also move through a complex web of diverse cultures. This experience can change their individual identity and their sense of national identity. A Canadian doctor, for example, who was born in India of Indian and Pakistani parents may have close ties to family and friends in both countries, and she may maintain these ties through frequent telephone calls and e-mail messages. She may have studied tropical medicine in London, England, and, while there, she may have established ties with other students from many areas of the world. She may be volunteering with Doctors Without Borders in Sudan and share strong humanitarian values with other volunteers who are also working with this organization.

People with a background like this are sometimes described as **cosmopolitan**. They borrow, adopt, and adapt values from many cultures, and they often believe in civic nationalism as a way of upholding pluralistic and cosmopolitan values. According to Canadian historian and politician Michael Ignatieff, "a cosmopolitan, post-nationalist spirit will always depend, in the end, on the capacity of nation-states to provide security and civility for their citizens."

When law and order disintegrated in countries like Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, pluralism and diversity could not survive. Amartya Sen, who is quoted in "Voices," argues that freedom of choice is the key to balancing conflicting national identities. People can choose different identities if they have the freedom to do this, but if they have no freedom, they may be locked into a particular national identity.

Do you believe that you have only one primary national identity? Or do you feel free to explore and embrace various national identities?

VOICES

Tolerance, openness and understanding towards other peoples' cultures, social structures, values and faiths are now essential to the very survival of an interdependent world. Pluralism is no longer simply an asset or a prerequisite for progress and development, it is vital to our existence.

— Prince Karīm al-Hussainī, the Aga Khan, philanthropist and spiritual leader of Shia Ismaili Muslims, 2005

VOICES

If a person can have only one identity, then the choice between the national and global becomes an "all or nothing" contest. But to see the problem in these stark and exclusive terms reflects a profound misunderstanding of the nature of human identity, in particular its inescapable plurality.

— Amartya Sen, Nobel Prize winner in economics, in Identity and Violence, *2006*

Figure 16-3 In 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper and the Aga Khan met to discuss establishing the Global Centre for Pluralism in Ottawa. The centre will help people from around the world study and foster the values, practices, and policies of pluralistic societies. Why might this field of study be important?

Figure 16-4 British Residents Who Were Born Abroad* — Selected Statistics, 2001

Country of Birth	Number	Percentage of New Immigrants Employed
Australia	106 404	91
Bangladesh	154 201	43
Canada	70 145	83
Germany	262 276	69
India	466 416	66
Italy	107 002	73
Iraq	32 251	38
Kenya	129 356	61
Pakistan	320 767	44
South Africa	140 201	82
United States	155 030	68

* "Born abroad" means born outside England, Scotland, and Wales.
Source: BBC News, Institute for Public Policy Research

Pluralism in Britain

Building a pluralistic nation-state that genuinely respects and appreciates diversity can be challenging. In Britain, for example, the 2001 census showed that more than 7.5 per cent of the population was born outside the country. Many of the newcomers had arrived in search of economic prosperity and an improved quality of life.

Examine the data in Figure 16-4. What trends do you note? Return to survey results shown in Figure 15-16 (p. 360). Based on these figures, what conclusions, if any, can you draw? Explain your responses.

Some British people believe that the country's immigration system doesn't work. They believe that the increased population strains public services. Others are afraid that immigrants are changing Britain's traditional national identity. They worry when they see immigrants living in ethnic, cultural, or religious enclaves and remaining separate from mainstream British culture.

Fears like these became more pronounced in July 2005, when four young men detonated bombs on three London subway cars and a bus, injuring about 700 people and killing themselves and 52 others. Three of the bombers were British citizens of Pakistani descent; the fourth arrived from Jamaica as a child.

After the bombings, Trevor Phillips of the British Commission for Racial Equality said that British society is becoming more divided by race and religion: "We are becoming more unequal by ethnicity . . . the aftermath of [the bombings] forces us to assess where we are. And here is where I think we are: we are sleepwalking our way to segregation. We are becoming strangers to each other, and we are leaving communities to be marooned outside the mainstream."

In January 2006, Gordon Brown, who later became prime minister, called on the British people to refocus on the common values that unite them. He said, "We have to be clearer now about how diverse cultures, which inevitably contain differences, can find the essential common purpose . . . without which no society can flourish." The British government began developing programs to promote British unity. One of the initiatives is a test requiring new citizens to show that they understand British history, customs, laws, and values.

Figure 16-5 Monty (Mudhsuden Singh) Panesar, the first Sikh to play for England's national cricket team, was born in England to parents who had immigrated from India. The game of cricket was exported to India — and other colonies of the British Empire — during colonial times. How might the achievements of athletes such as Panesar help increase acceptance of pluralism?

Reflect and Respond

Questions on the British citizenship test deal with issues such as the role of women in society, child labour, the education system, and religious tolerance. Many people support the test, but some have warned that it may become a way of excluding people from British citizenship.

Many of the test questions focus on traditional British values. One question asks, "What and when are the main Christian festivals? What other traditional days are celebrated?" Is it fair to require potential citizens to pass a test like this? Explain your response.

What are some possible visions of Canada?

Even before Confederation, Canada was visualized as a country that embraced a degree of pluralism, though the extent of pluralism was limited. Still, the concept of a pluralistic nation existed as an idea about what the country could become.

On July 1, 1867, politician Thomas D'Arcy McGee, one of the fathers of Confederation, captured this vision when he said: "So long as we respect in Canada the rights of minorities, told either by tongue or creed, we are safe. For so long it will be possible for us to be united. But when we cease to respect these rights, we will be in the full tide towards that madness which the ancients considered the gods sent to those whom they wished to destroy."

Why were there no mothers of Confederation?

Reread McGee's words. How do they reflect the makeup of Canada in 1867? How do they reflect ideas about Canada today?

A few decades later, this vision remained strong. Wilfrid Laurier, the first Francophone prime minister of Canada and who held this post from 1896 to 1911, compared his vision of the country to a cathedral. "It is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become," Laurier said. "For here I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak, and out of these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world."

As the 20th century unfolded and Canada welcomed more and more immigrants from more and more regions of the world, the country changed — and early visions expanded to include much more diverse ideas about Canadian society.

Today, Canada is often described as a civic nation with a national identity based on shared values and beliefs expressed in law. The values shared by Canadians are enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which is part of the Constitution. The Constitution sets out the kind of country Canadians want to live in and the values and beliefs that bind them together and form an important aspect of Canadian national identity.

Figure 16-6 In 2006, members of visible minority groups made up 16.2 per cent of Canada's population. Toronto, where these commuters were waiting together for public transit, is the most ethnically diverse city in the country. Nearly 47 per cent of Toronto residents are members of visible minority groups.

A Pluralistic Country

When responding to public opinion polls, a high percentage of Canadians consistently identify the country's multicultural and pluralistic nature as something they support and take pride in. These policies are often described as the characteristics that distinguish Canada from other countries.

In a 2008 survey conducted by CTV and *The Globe and Mail*, 88 per cent of respondents said that they believed their community was welcoming to people from visible minority groups. But at the same time, 61 per cent of respondents believed that Canada was doing too much to accommodate the five million Canadians who belong to visible minority groups. This percentage rose to 72 per cent in Québec.

Though people often express concerns about the success of multiculturalism and pluralism, many commentators, such as Edward Greenspon, editor-in chief of *The Globe and Mail*, believe that these policies have promoted the development of a new form of nationalism in Canada. Greenspon wrote that this new nationalism enables people to be who they are while still belonging to a larger group.

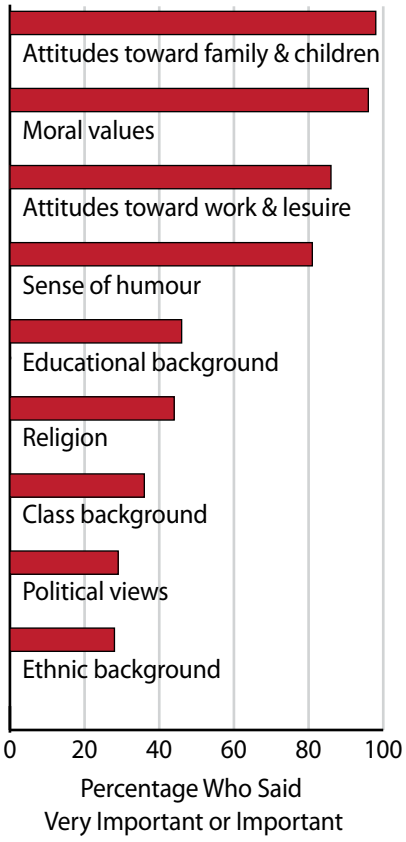
For many Canadians, ethnic ties are no longer their first concern. This was illustrated by a 2003 survey that revealed respondents viewed ethnic background as the least important factor when choosing a spouse.

In addition, the 2006 census revealed that 41.4 per cent of Canadians identified their ethnic origins as mixed. This percentage has been rising steadily — in 1996, it stood at 35.8 per cent.

Examine the survey results in Figure 16-7. How would you have responded to each question? On the basis of Canadians' rating of the importance of ethnic background in choosing a spouse, as well as the percentage of Canadians from mixed ethnic backgrounds, what conclusions might you draw about how multiculturalism and pluralism are working? Explain your response.

Figure 16-7 Important Factors When Choosing a Spouse

When choosing a spouse, it is very important, important, not very important, or not at all important that both people share similar . . .



Source: *A New Canada: An Identity Shared by Diversity.* Centre for Research and Information on Canada, October 2003

Diversity in Alberta

According to the 2006 census, Alberta's population grew by 10.6 per cent between 2001 and 2006. During the same period, the population of Canada increased by 5.4 per cent. In 2001, about 6.9 per cent of immigrants to Canada chose to settle in Alberta. By 2006, this figure had risen to 9.3 per cent.

During the same five-year period, Alberta also attracted many migrants from other Canadian provinces and territories. Nearly 227 000 people migrated to Alberta from elsewhere in Canada, while more than 138 600 left the province. This meant that migration from within Canada increased Alberta's population by more than 88 000.

Figure 16-8 In March 2007, Malcolm Mayes, cartoonist for the *Edmonton Journal*, created this cartoon to show the difference between the number of people moving into and out of Alberta. How do you think this demographic change will affect Albertans' individual and group identities?

Many people believe that Alberta's increasing diversity will strengthen the province's communities. But others fear that diversity may result in divisions within or between communities. Some Albertans are also concerned about the portrayal of pluralism policies. Political scientist Yasmeen Abu-Laban believes that the federal government uses multiculturalism and pluralism to forge business and trade links with other countries, rather than "to increase equality at home."

But the manager and staff at Westend Suzuki, an Edmonton car dealership, have found that diversity provides direct economic benefits. In 2007, staff at the dealership spoke English and French, as well as 13 other languages including Punjabi, Italian, Cantonese, and Hindi.

Web Connection

To find out about Alberta government programs designed to promote human rights and diversity, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Zarqa Nawaz
Breaking Down Stereotypes

MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

When Zarqa Nawaz, creator of the groundbreaking hit CBC TV series *Little Mosque on the Prairie*, was developing the sitcom, one of her goals was to break down stereotypes and bring people together. "I see the show as a way to show young Canadians that it is possible to live in an ethnic community peacefully despite religious differences," she told an online discussion sponsored by *The Globe and Mail*.

The name of Nawaz's show is a play on the title *Little House on the Prairie*, a series of books about a family who settled in the 19th-century American West. The books were later adapted to create a popular TV show. *Little Mosque* is about a Muslim community in the fictional small Saskatchewan town of Mercy. Every episode features the humorous interactions of Muslims with one another — and with non-Muslim townspeople.

Born in England to Pakistani parents, Nawaz immigrated to Canada with her family, who settled in Toronto. She began wearing a hijab when she was in Grade 9 and has attended a mosque most of her life. For the past few years, she has lived in Saskatoon with her husband and children.

Writing a sitcom about a particular ethnic or religious group's experiences in a new environment presents challenges. Nawaz acknowledges that using humour to deal with these issues is risky, but she also believes it can be highly effective.

Figure 16-9 Zarqa Nawaz's first venture into filmmaking was a short comedy called *BBQ Muslims*. It tells the story of two brothers who are suspected of terrorism after their barbecue explodes. Nawaz has also created a documentary titled *Me and the Mosque*.

"I've always reacted to very difficult subjects with humour," she said. "The only way I can deal with these issues is to make them more universal and appeal to a greater number of people, to get across the ridiculousness of what is happening and the paranoia and worry that exists now in the community." Besides, she added, humour can encourage people to think about serious issues.

Nawaz said that her own experience growing up as a Muslim in Canada was positive — and she believes that Canadians have made pluralism work. "The fact that I can be comfortable with my Canadian identity along with my Islamic identity proves to me that it's working."

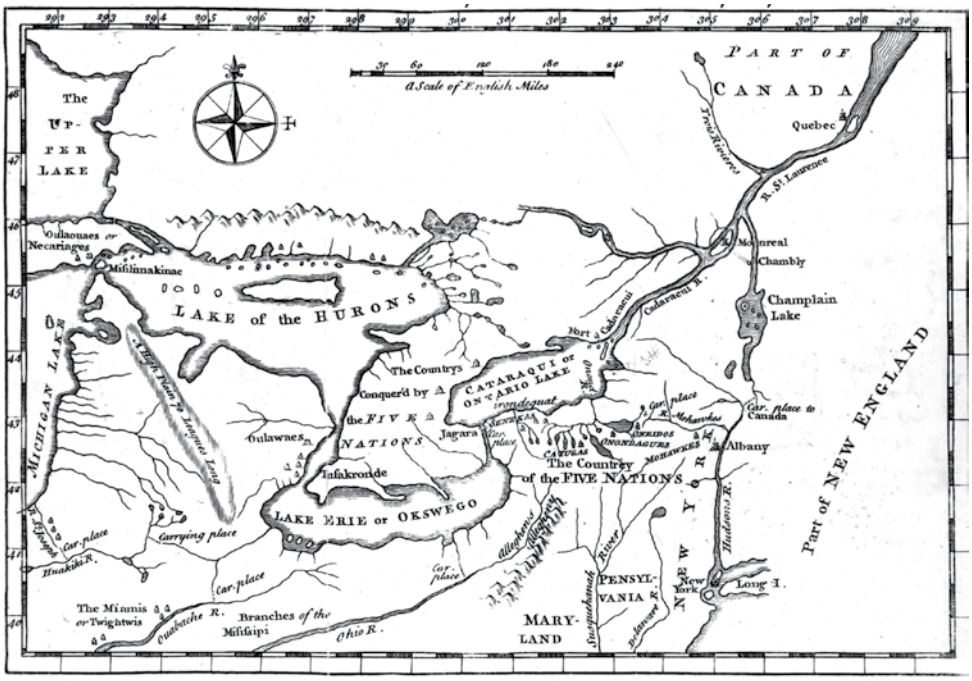
Explorations

1. Suppose you were asked to create a written pitch outlining an idea for a new TV show that, like *Little Mosque on the Prairie*, derives its appeal from portraying a potentially contentious issue of national identity in a humorous light. Identify the issue you will address (e.g., *Little Mosque* draws some of its humour from the misunderstandings that occur between Muslims and non-Muslims), the setting (e.g., *Little Mosque* places a Muslim community in the middle of the Canadian Prairies), and how it will meet its goal (e.g., *Little Mosque* presents ordinary people in situations that require them to work together). Your pitch should be no longer than one page and should include at least one scenario that could become the basis of an episode. Remember to use respectful language.

A Nation of Many Nations

As Canadians reassess their national identity in the 21st century, some view Canada as a country made up of many nations. Confederations of nations are not a new idea. They existed among some First Nations of North America long before Europeans arrived. According to historian Olive Dickason, by the 1500s, if not earlier, some peoples in North America had agreed that it was in their collective interest to organize themselves into multinational alliances. Their goals were to protect themselves against mutual enemies and to promote trade.

Figure 16-10 This early map shows the territory of the Five Nations of the Haudenosaunee as it was in 1650 in what is today New York State and Ontario.



Among these alliances was the League of Haudenosaunee, also known the Iroquois or Five Nations Confederacy. This was a social and political system that was originally made up of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca Nations. In the early 1700s, the alliance became the Six Nations Confederacy when the Tuscarora Nation joined. Each nation looked after its own internal affairs, but all agreed to work together for mutual protection and trade. The league was ruled by a council of 50 chiefs who represented the people and who met when the need arose.

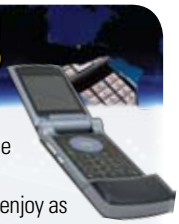
The league was guided by The Constitution of the Iroquois Nations: The Great Binding Law, Gayanashagowa, which was passed on orally from generation to generation and which outlined the decision-making process. The law included rules about the duties and rights of those who held specific positions, adoption and emigration, the structure of clans, and the role of women in the clans. Action was taken only after the six nations achieved consensus.

Aboriginal Nations Today

The 1996 report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples made it clear that Canada is a nation of nations. It said that Aboriginal governments are "one of three orders of government in Canada — federal, provincial/territorial, and Aboriginal."

In a 2003 study of Aboriginal people's participation in the Canadian electoral process, political scientist Alan C. Cairns wrote: "To [the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples] 'nation' was the fundamental unit of analysis, and the relation between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian State was to be nation-to-nation. Canada was to become a multinational federation in which interactions would be among nations, not citizens."

VOICES



It is wrong to ignore the historical rights that Aboriginal people still enjoy as self-governing political entities — rights that Canada undertook to safeguard as we were struggling toward nationhood.

— People to People, Nation to Nation: The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *1996*

The dream of a Canada as a uni-national state was always a fiction, a fiction rooted historically in the denigration of French and Aboriginal cultures.

— Will Kymlicka, political philosopher, 1998

Though Aboriginal people view themselves as nations whose Aboriginal and treaty rights are confirmed in Canada's Constitution, Aboriginal leaders agree that they wish to remain nations within Canada. But despite the recommendations of the royal commission, progress in achieving their goals has been slow. The Indian Act remains in force, Aboriginal peoples continue to face many challenges, and more than 800 specific land claims have yet to be settled.

In its report, the royal commission said that 66 of its recommendations could be implemented within 20 years. In 2006, on the 10th anniversary of the release of the commission's findings, the Assembly of First Nations issued a report card assessing the federal government's progress toward fulfilling the recommendations — and gave the government a failing grade.

Examine the information in Figure 16-11. Do you think the Assembly of First Nations' initiative in issuing this report card would have helped or hurt the cause of Aboriginal peoples? Explain your response.

Figure 16-11 AFN Report Card on Government Progress toward Meeting Targets in Selected Areas, 2006

Royal Commission Recommendation	Status in 2006	Grade
Public inquiry into residential school abuse	No public inquiry, but establishment of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, the Indian Residential Schools Canada, and the completion of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement	B+
Canada-wide framework agreement to guide treaty negotiations	Not implemented	F
New treaties: replace existing comprehensive claims policy, as a broad base for matters to be discussed in treaty negotiations	No national treaty policy	F
Recognition of Aboriginal ownership and management of cultural and historic sites	Some recognition in northern land-claim agreements, but no national direction outside of self-government	C
Parliament and national Aboriginal organizations to jointly designate a National Peoples Day	National Aboriginal Day established as June 21 every year, 1996	A

Source: *Royal Commission on Aboriginal People at 10 Years: A Report Card*, Assembly of First Nations

The Québécois Nation

In recent years, Québec sovereignists have lost support among Québécois voters. In the 2007 provincial election, the sovereignist Parti Québécois placed third and formed neither the government nor the official opposition for the first time since 1973.

A year later, the PQ announced that it was abandoning its plan to hold another sovereignty referendum as soon as possible if the party regains power. Instead, the party pledged to engage the people of Québec in debate about sovereignty issues, the meaning of citizenship in the province, a Québec constitution, and winning from Ottawa power over language, culture, immigration, communications, and employment insurance.

PQ leader Pauline Marois said: "It will always be difficult for a small people speaking French in America, to assume its place, to continue to exist. It cannot be otherwise. There are 300 million anglophones surrounding us. We have to find ways to clearly indicate that in Québec, things happen in French."

With a partner, roleplay a discussion that might have occurred between two Parti Québécois members, one who supported sticking to the party's referendum pledge and the other who supported abandoning it. Raise at least two points to support your position.

Figure 16-12 In the 2007 provincial election, the Action Démocratique du Québec under leader Mario Dumont, pictured here, became the province's official opposition party for the first time since it was founded in 1994. The ADQ is a nationalist party that supports greater autonomy for Québec, but it stops short of advocating outright sovereignty. What does the ADQ's strong showing say about the shift in attitude among Québec voters?

CheckBack

You read about reasonable accommodation in Chapter 3.

Québec and Reasonable Accommodation

In the early 21st century, reasonable accommodation became an issue in Québec when various minority groups became alarmed about what they viewed as a lack of willingness to allow them to affirm and promote their own culture and traditions — and to feel as if they belonged in Québec.

Brigitte Haentjens, an award-winning theatre director who was born in France but who has worked in both Ontario and Québec, summed up the feelings of many immigrants when she told the *Montreal Gazette*: "I can't be Québécois." Haentjens said that she felt more at home among the Francophone minority in Ontario than in mostly Francophone Québec.

The issue of reasonable accommodation came to a head in early 2007 when the council of the small Québec town of Hérouxville adopted a code of conduct for immigrants. Though no foreign-born people live in the town, the code included a ban on accommodating prayer in school and on the extreme and illegal practices of genital mutilation and stoning women. Several nearby towns passed similar codes.

These actions sparked intense debate over how Francophone Québécois could affirm and promote their traditional language and culture while accommodating the needs of immigrants. In response, Québec premier Jean Charest established the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences. The commission's mission was to explore challenges related to reasonable accommodation in the province. The two commission chairs, Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, travelled the province to hear the comments of individuals and groups. Their recommendations were to be delivered at the end of May 2008.

Web Connection

To find out more about the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 16-13 In October 2007, Fatima-Zahra Benjelloun of the Islamic Cultural Centre of Québec appeared before the Bouchard–Taylor commission to express her organization's concerns about reasonable accommodation in Québec.

Implications of a Nation of Nations

According to political philosopher Will Kymlicka, Canadians outside Québec view Canada as a single national community that includes all citizens, no matter what their language, ethnicity, or region. But this is not the view of many Québécois.

For thinkers such as Kymlicka, the idea of Canada as a country of many nations requires Canadians to embrace the concept of **asymmetrical federalism**. Under asymmetrical federalism, all provinces and territories would not share power with the federal government in the same way. The differing linguistic and cultural needs of provinces, territories, and regions would be accommodated by allowing them to exercise differing degrees of control in critical areas such as immigration.

Although a degree of asymmetrical federalism already exists in Canada — Québec, for example, already exercises more control over immigration than other provinces — the issue is contentious. Some believe that it could undermine Canadian unity because it threatens the principle of provincial equality.

If Canadians were to embrace asymmetrical federalism, how might this affect Canadian national identity? Explain your response.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988 affirmed that Canadians have a constitutional right "to the equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination and that everyone has the freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief, opinion, expression, peaceful assembly and association." But how successful is multiculturalism? Here is how three people have responded to this question.

In 2007, **Michael Adams**, social researcher and co-founder of Environics Research Group, argued that the children of immigrants have no problem reconciling contending national loyalties.

> [Children of immigrants] are proud to be Canadians, but they are also proud of their ethnic, religious, racial background. In a lot of the polling, we're asking them to choose between the two. They say, "Well, I feel a deeper attachment to my Muslim status." And then immediately you jump to the conclusion that they don't love Canada.
>
> Well, actually, they do love Canada. And they actually think that, when they say they're proud Canadians, they can also be proud Muslims and also citizens of the world. They're trying to communicate subtle, postmodern multiple identity.

Will Kymlicka, Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy at Queen's University, wrote the following in his 2007 book, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity.*

> There are a few things we can say with some confidence about the effects of multiculturalism in practice. None of the countries that have moved along the multiculturalist path in the West have subsequently descended into civil war or anarchy, or faced military coups, or suffered economic collapse. On the contrary, even a casual inspection of the list of countries which are "strong" in their commitment to multiculturalism policies shows that they are amongst the most peaceful, stable, and prosperous societies on the planet.

In 2007, **Gilles Duceppe**, leader of the separatist Bloc Québécois, put forward this view of how reasonable accommodation should work in Québec.

> Multiculturalism as a model of integration does not work in Québec. Immigrant cultures and beliefs must merge with Québec's culture and beliefs if the latter is to survive. They are coming to a nation with values, a culture, and history. The model developed in Québec reflects that reality. It's in total contradiction with the definition of a Canada that is bilingual and multicultural.

Explorations

1. Complete a chart like the one shown.

Judging the Success of Multiculturalism

Key Social Factor	Criterion	Response (Yes or No)	Proof or Example

   - In the first column, list three key social factors that could be used as measures of the success or failure of multiculturalism (e.g., major civil strife).
   - In the second column, record a criterion based on each factor you identified (e.g., Has multiculturalism caused major civil strife in Canada?).
   - In the third column, record a yes or no response to your criterion (e.g., No).
   - In the final column, provide evidence to support your response (e.g., Millions of people from many countries live together peacefully).
   - Use the information in your chart as a basis of an overall judgment about the success of multiculturalism. Compare your conclusions with those of others.

A Divided Canada

Two nations have evolved that are utterly alike in almost all of their externals and yet are utterly unalike in their political cultures so that they are as distinct from each other as are the Germans from the French, say, even though both are Europeans just as Canadians and Americans are both North Americans.

— Richard Gwyn, journalist and political commentator, in The 49th Paradox: Canada in North America, *1987*

With blithe lightness of mind we assumed that the world was moving irrevocably beyond nationalism, beyond tribalism . . . toward a global market culture that was to be our new home. In retrospect, we were whistling in the dark. The repressed has returned, and its name is nationalism.

— Michael Ignatieff, historian and politician, in the National Post, *2000*

In some cases, successor states have divided into more than one country after achieving independence. This is what happened in India, which divided into India and Pakistan. Later, Pakistan divided again when Bangladesh, which had been East Pakistan, became independent.

In the 1990s, when the separatist movement in Québec was at a peak, it looked as if the division of Canada was an imminent possibility. But Québec has not been the only province or region to consider separation. Some Westerners also advocate withdrawing from Confederation, though supporters of this idea are few and the movement is not nearly as strong as the sovereignist movement in Québec.

What might be some political, economic, and organizational challenges if voters in one province or territory supported leaving Canada? Explain your response.

North American Integration

Canadians have a great deal in common with Americans. Both Canada and the United States are democracies, and English is the dominant language in both countries. Canadians and Americans also dress similarly, listen to the same music, watch the same television programs, and follow many of the same sports — and are indistinguishable in many other ways. As a result, people from other parts of the world are often hard-pressed to tell the difference between citizens of the two countries.

Some people have suggested that Canada should merge with the United States. Though this idea does not enjoy widespread support in either country, some people believe that it is not as far-fetched as it seems. When Canada and the U.S. entered into the Free Trade Agreement, for example, many individuals and groups, such as the Council of Canadians, warned that this economic integration was the first step toward a political merger.

Figure 16-14 A communications assistant with the U.S. Border Patrol monitors the border between Canada and the United States from a huge facility in Blaine, Washington. Since 9/11, the United States has introduced high-tech methods to beef up surveillance on its border with Canada.

After the attacks on the U.S. on September 11, 2001, the American government's preoccupation with security also influenced Canada. For decades before this, the 6400-kilometre line that divides Canada and the U.S. had been called the longest undefended border in the world — but the United States came to regard it as an opportunity for terrorists to sneak into the United States. As a result, armed patrols now guard the border in many areas and surveillance has been stepped up. In addition, strict rules have been introduced to govern the entry of Canadians into the United States.

In 2002, Canada and the U.S. created the Binational Planning Group. The group's goal is to increase co-operation between the two countries in the areas of foreign policy, defence, and security. This involves co-ordinating maritime surveillance, sharing intelligence, and conducting joint military exercises. One of the first steps taken by the group was to bring about a bilateral pact that allows troops from one country to cross the border to help police and firefighters deal with emergencies in the other country.

Do agencies such as the Binational Planning Group and treaties such as NAFTA mean that Canada is already part of the U.S. — even if Canadians don't know it?

On a scale of 1 to 5, rate how close you think Canada and the United States are to political union (1 = not very close; 5 = very close). Does your sense of Canadian identity play a role in your response? Explain why or why not.

Taking Turns

Is North American integration a sound idea?

The students responding to this question are Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; Harley, who is a member of the Kainai Nation near Lethbridge; and Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Calgary.

Rick

My family immigrated from the States, and we fit right in here in Fort McMurray. My life here isn't very different from what it was like in the States, and people who don't know us have no idea that we were originally American. There are some minor differences between Canadians and American — like the fact that Americans aren't nearly as passionate about hockey — but really, I don't think it would make much difference to most Canadians if Canada and the United States merged. People's lives wouldn't change that much. Canadians are already Americans in everything but name.

I was on the Net and read a speech by Ovide Mercredi, who was once the national chief of the Assembly of First Nations. He said that Canada is already being Americanized and compared this with what happened to Aboriginal peoples when they were colonized. If Canadians want to know what could happen when peoples lose sovereignty and the right to control their own destiny, he said they should look to what has happened to Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Mercredi's speech really impressed me. I wouldn't wish the Aboriginal experience on anyone, so no, I don't support North American integration.

Harley

Jean

As a Francophone, I am completely against North American integration. Francophones are already a minority in Canada, and if Canada joined the United States, we'd be an even smaller minority. Keeping up our language and cultural traditions is hard enough in Canada, where we have a history and the Constitution protects our rights. In the United States, there are no such protections — and we would be swamped.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Rick, Harley, and Jean are answering? Explain the reasons for your response. How important is Canadian national identity to you?

Canada and Globalization

The country needs more aggressive strategies to make sure that social mobility is still possible. That is why immigrants come to Canada. Abstract debates about multiculturalism and pluralism mean less to them than being given a real chance to succeed.

— Marina Jiménez, immigration specialist for The Globe and Mail*, 2007*

As the world becomes more globalized, Canadians — and others — have begun debating the effects of globalization on nationalism and national identity. Some believe that a sense of national identity will become even more important in the 21st century, while others say that the world has outgrown the idea of national identity and it is time for a new model. For some people, a new model involves global citizenship.

Globalization has made migration to distant places much easier, and Canada is an acknowledged world leader in promoting multiculturalism and cultural pluralism. Canada has evolved — and continues to evolve — on the foundation of the diverse linguistic, cultural, religious, and ethnic identities that make up the country. But Canadians sometimes struggle to reconcile respect for and acceptance of diversity with their desire to foster national unity. The shared ideal of unity in diversity is one of the themes of Jane Ash Poitras's mural, *Those Who Share Together, Stay Together*, which opened this chapter.

FYI

Although the word "multicultural" has been used since the 1940s to describe societies that encourage cultural pluralism, the word "multiculturalism" was coined in Canada in 1965 — and has since been adopted by English speakers around the world.

The Canadian ideal of diversity is widely admired, but some people believe that it is just that: an ideal. For immigrants, especially those who belong to visible minority groups, this ideal does not always translate into reality. Today's immigrants, for example, are often much better educated than immigrants of previous generations, but many have trouble finding jobs in their chosen field.

Along with Stuart N. Soroka and Richard Johnston, Keith Banting of the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University conducted a study that included measuring trust among people in ethnically diverse Canadian neighbourhoods. They found that when people from visible minority groups moved into predominantly white areas, the white majority became less trusting. And members of visible minority groups trusted others less when their neighbourhood was largely white than when it was ethnically diverse.

With a partner, discuss who should be responsible for bridging the trust gap in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Individuals? Governments? Another group or groups? If Canadians are to be united in a sense of common purpose and identity, is bridging this gap important? Explain your response.

Figure 16-15 Most immigrants settle in Canada's large cities, where street scenes like this are becoming more and more common. If you were using this photograph to illustrate Canadian identity to a non-Canadian, what would you say?

Canada in the World

On the world stage, Canada is often described as a middle power — a country that is not a superpower but does have some ability to influence world affairs. And Canadians often take pride in their country's reputation for leadership in specific areas such as multiculturalism, peacekeeping, and foreign aid.

CheckBack

You read about the role of middle powers in Chapter 9.

A 2008 poll conducted by Environics Research on behalf of a number of organizations, including the CBC and *The Globe and Mail,* found that more than 50 per cent of respondents believe that Canada exerts "some influence" on world affairs. But many, such as author and cultural commentator Neil Bissoondath, question whether this perception is accurate and whether Canada is living up to its reputation as a country that can — and should — play a prominent role in the world.

And in 2008, when a food crisis threatened people, especially those in developing countries, Jeffrey Sachs, American economist and adviser to United Nations secretary-general Ban Ki-moon, accused Canada of abandoning the leadership role it had often played in international development. "We've seen essentially no global leadership from Canada on poverty, hunger, disease, climate change and foreign assistance," Sachs told *The Globe and Mail*.

Sachs added that these actions were the result of Canadian government policies and did not reflect the attitudes of Canadians. "This has been a huge surprise for me as a lifelong admirer of Canada, that we don't see the ambition of the Canadian people manifested in Canada's policies right now," he said.

Should Canadians be alarmed about the views of non-Canadians such as Jeffrey Sachs? Do Sachs's comments affect your vision of Canada? Explain your responses.

Janice Gross Stein, a political scientist who is director of the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto, believes that Canada's diversity means that it is in a unique position to make a difference in the world. "Networks of immigrants now connect Canada around the globe," Stein wrote in her contribution to *Great Questions of Canada*. "These networks are invaluable channels as Canada seeks to make its voice heard on international issues. We should lead in developing practices of multiple citizenship to strengthen these connections."

Despite our foreign aid programs and our record in peacekeeping, Canada is a country greatly diminished since the Second World War. The truth is, we carry little weight in the world. Were the Canadian state to disappear tomorrow, many beyond our borders would notice but few would mourn.

— Neil Bissoondath, author and cultural commentator, 2000

Reflect and Respond

To help clarify your thinking on issues relating to visions of Canada, respond to the following questions. In each case, justify your response.

a) Should some elements of multiculturalism and pluralism be sacrificed to promote Canadian identity?

b) Should Canada adopt asymmetrical federalism as a way of ensuring that nations within the country enjoy greater self-determination?

c) Should the number of official languages in Canada be increased to make the country more inclusive?

d) Should Canada become more like the United States to maintain free trade and access to American goods and services?

e) Should Canada try to regain its position as world leader in areas such as peacekeeping and international development?

Compare your responses with those of a small group. Present your conclusions to the class in visual form, perhaps as a graph or diagram.

Honing Oral, Written, and Visual Literacy

To understand an issue and reach an informed position, it is important to consider a range of points of view and perspectives. It is also important to understand positions other than your own and to express the arguments of others — even if you do not accept these arguments.

To practise your oral, written, and visual literacy skills in preparation for participating in the debate that concludes this related issue, you will develop a position on this proposal:

Canadian schools should adopt a policy of actively promoting Canadian national identity.

Your position and the reasons for it will depend on your views on issues on nationalism and national identity. You might, for example, decide that you agree, though not strongly. Your reservations may stem from the fact that you identify more strongly with a nation other than Canada, or that you believe that the word "identity" should be changed to "identities." Or you might disagree because you believe that in an interconnected world, a global identity is more realistic than a national identity.

Steps to Honing Oral, Written, and Visual Literacy

Step 1: Develop a position

With a partner, imagine that you are members of your community's school board and you must decide whether to support or oppose the proposal. You might begin by creating a T-chart like the one shown and recording arguments for and against the proposal. Once you decide on a position, you may wish to challenge yourselves by taking a position that you do not personally support.

Canadian schools should adopt a policy of actively promoting Canadian national identity.	
Arguments for	**Arguments against**

Step 2: Create a news release announcing your response

Once you have decided on your position, imagine that you are a representative of your community school board and write a news release announcing the board's position and inviting reporters to a news conference on the issue.

The news release should be no longer than one typed page. When drafting it, consider your audience and purpose. The release should be in formal language and should explain the following:

- the school board's decision
- the reasons for the decision
- the expected results of the decision
- a general statement about your community, province, or country and why the decision makes sense in this context
- details of the forthcoming news conference, including who will attend and where it will be held

Step 3: Prepare for the news conference

To enhance the presentation of your position at the news conference, create a graphic, collage, slogan, or other visual that reinforces your position and acts as a backdrop for your announcement. Think about image(s), picture(s), or words that would create a positive impression in the minds of the audience.

Use the T-chart you created earlier to consider questions that your classmates, who will play the role of reporters, might ask. Thinking about this ahead of time will help you prepare responses.

With your partner, decide on the role each of you will play at the news conference. How will you, for example, introduce yourselves? Will one of you read the statement while the other handles question, or will you share responsibility for answering questions? Will one of you explain the graphic or illustration you created?

When other pairs make their presentations, you will play the role of reporter. Use the arguments you recorded on your T-chart to prepare questions you might ask in this role.

Step 4: Stage the news conference

With your partner, present your position to the news conference. You might choose to sit at a desk at the front of the classroom or to use a lectern, if one is available. Remember to use formal language and to present your statement as if you really are representing the school board.

Read aloud your statement, then answer the reporters' questions.

Step 5: Check your learning

Once you have completed the activity, work with your partner to assess your presentation. To help you do this, create a chart like the one shown on this page.

Assessing Our Presentation

Our Position _____

Question	Response and Comment
1. Which part of your presentation — the graphic image, the written statement, or responding to questions — do you think was most effective? What made it effective? What would you improve if you had another chance to complete the presentation?	
2. Did the reporters' questions reveal that information was missing from your written statement? If so, what was this information?	
3. Did the reporters raise questions that you had not expected or could not answer? If so, what were they? After reflecting on these questions, how would you answer them now?	
4. After thinking about your responses to the reporters' questions, would you change any of your answers?	
5. What new ideas, points of view, or perspectives on Canadian identity did this activity suggest to you?	
6. After listening to other points of view and responses, have you changed your position on the issue? Why or why not?	

Summing Up

Many activities in this course have helped you hone your oral, written, and visual literacy skills. Once an assignment is complete, reflecting on your performance is important because it enables you to assess where you need to focus your efforts to improve. A chart similar to the one on this page can help you organize this assessment.

What is your vision of national identity?

If you don't have a nation, a country of your own, you have no platform to act in the world . . . In order for us to truly live up to our potential in the world, and this includes reducing international inequalities, Canada must have its own sovereignty, its own freedom to move.

— David Orchard, farmer, lawyer, and Canadian nationalist, in ZNet*, 2004*

Global citizenship is when you start to break down the political borders and start to worry about people all over the world. [It's] moving away from the idea of nationalism to the responsibility of the person to the whole world.

— Keen Sung, student delegate to the Global Youth Assembly, Edmonton, 2007

The French philosopher Ernest Renan once said that a nation is "a group of people united by a mistaken view about the past and a hatred of their neighbors." Renan made this remark in the 19th century, when ideas about nationalism were often rooted in concepts such as language, religion, and ethnicity — and before ideas about civic nations had taken hold.

Like most sardonic remarks, Renan's comment involved both bitter humour and a grain of truth. Some people do base their understanding of nation on a specific interpretation of the past and hatred of so-called others. But many more people base their vision on understandings that include a combination of religion, language, geography, ethnicity, spirituality, and civic ideals.

Defining Your Vision

In his foreword to *The New Canada,* Edward Greenspon, *Globe and Mail* editor-in-chief, wrote that Canadians are developing a new ethnicity — "simply Canadian." As proof, Greenspon cited the 2001 census, when 39 per cent of people identified their ethnic origins as Canadian.

Greenspon also wrote: "The 'I am Canadian' marketing phenomenon tapped into something real: Canadians are very proud of their national identity. With no trace of irony, they proudly yell about how modest they are, and patriotically claim that they have no patriotism. Despite our claim to a modest and deferential nationalism, our nationalism has become as emotional and assertive as anyone's."

Reread Greenspon's words. Would you say that he views the attitude he describes as a positive or negative development? Do you agree with his assessment? Why? If Canadians are developing a sense of Canadian ethnicity, how might this affect the idea of Canada as a civic nation that celebrates diversity?

In a famous 1963 speech, American civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. used the specific example of his own family to illustrate a broader vision of a civic nation in which all people enjoy equal rights and equal opportunities. King proclaimed: "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin, but by the content of their character."

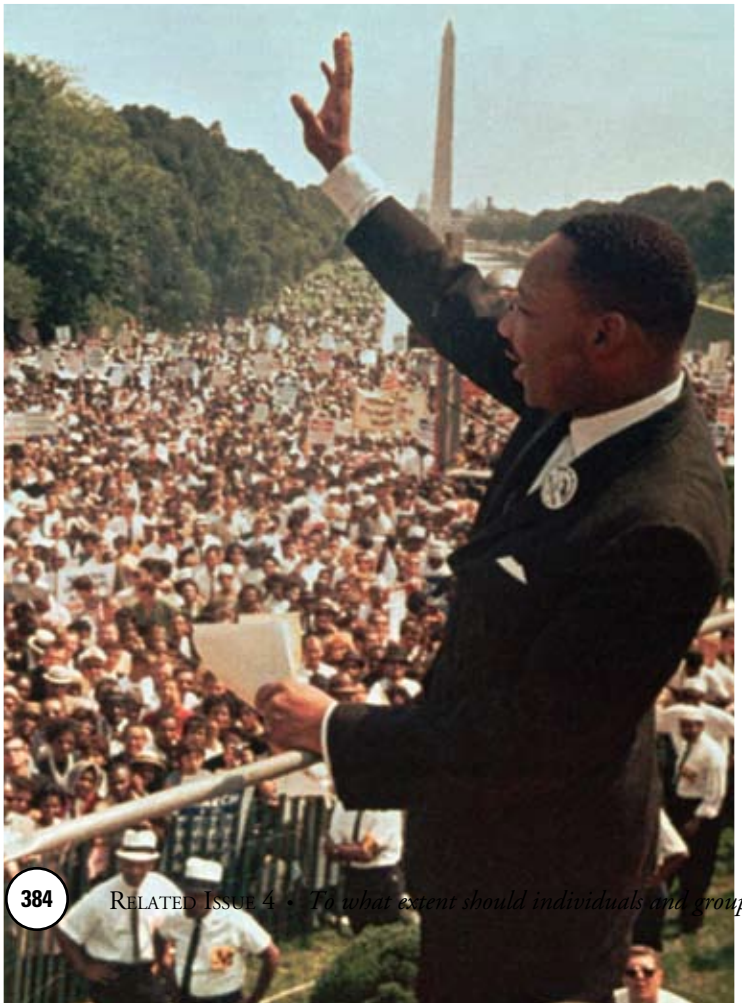


Figure 16-16 Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his widely quoted "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington D.C. Five years later, King was assassinated. Is a civic nation the only kind of nation in which King's dream can be achieved?

Citizens of the World

In August 2007, the John Humphrey Centre for Peace and Human Rights, a non-profit organization named for the Canadian who wrote the first draft of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, hosted the Global Youth Assembly in Edmonton. At the assembly, University of Alberta political scientist Andy Knight said: "We are all on the same planet, drinking the same water, affected by the same type of forces. And these things have no respect for national borders. Regardless of diversity and difference, we all have things in common. We are united in that diversity."

This theme — that the peoples the world are united in diversity — has been expressed by many people. In "Voices" on the previous page, for example, Keen Sung, a delegate to the Global Youth Assembly, expresses the idea that nationalism must evolve into a sense of personal international responsibility. And Jeffrey Sachs, who is quoted in "Voices" on this page, has argued that the interconnectedness of people and governments and the complexity of the problems facing humanity today mean that transcending borders is not only possible, but also necessary.

The balancing of internationalist perspectives with a strong sense of national identity may present one of the challenges of the 21st century. Some people may resolve this challenge by embracing nationalism. Others will look outward and embrace internationalism, and still others will try to strike a balance between the two.

To what extent should we embrace nationalism? This is the question that has provided the foundation of *Exploring Nationalism*. Given the nature of the world today — a world that globalization and communication technologies have made smaller than ever — is this the appropriate question? Would you have chosen a different question to examine? Explain your response.

Voices

Despite the reveries and fantasies of some, the age of empire is over. Power is already diffusing widely in the 21st century. A new kind of global politics must take shape, built not on U.S. or Chinese pre-eminence, but on global co-operation across regions.

— *Jeffrey Sachs, in* Common Wealth: Economics for a Crowded Planet, *2008*

If all people are citizens of the world, does this mean that national identity is irrelevant?

Figure 16-17 The United Nations' mandate expresses an international ideal by saying that one of its primary aims is "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." Does your vision of national identity include these ideals?

1. In this chapter, you explored responses to this question: To what extent should I embrace a national identity?

   Based on your understanding of nation and identity, develop a response to this chapter-issue question. Your response may take any form you wish. You may, for example, create a dialogue between two politicians with opposing views, a poem or song, a piece of art, a video documentary, a slogan, or a poster. Present your response to the class and be prepared to justify your position.

2. In the prologue, you read about several interpretations of nationalism. Then, as you began each chapter, you kept a journal that recorded your changing understanding of this concept.
   a) Use the information from these and other sources to write a statement that sums up your current understanding of nationalism.
   b) Deconstruct your understanding by identifying each element included in your statement. Explain why you chose it and how it relates to nationalism.
   c) Share your statement with a partner. Note comments made by your partner. If necessary, revise your statement and notes.
   d) Present your statement to a small group or the class. Be prepared to defend your position.
   e) With the small group or the class, develop a consensus statement to sum up your current understanding of nationalism.

3. A mission statement identifies an organization's goals and often lays out the strategies the organization hopes to follow to achieve these goals. The following are excerpts from the mission statements of three different organizations.
   - **IBM** — At IBM, we strive to lead in the invention, development and manufacture of the industry's most advanced information technologies, including computer systems, software, storage systems and microelectronics.

     We translate these advanced technologies into value for our customers through our professional solutions, services and consulting businesses worldwide.
   - **Alberta Education** — Alberta Education supports schools that are safe, caring, orderly, positive, productive, respectful and free from the fear of physical and emotional harm. A safe and caring environment contributes to successful schools.
   - **Petro-Canada** — To be the leader in the development of some of the purest base oils and innovative, superior products that customers trust for productivity improvements around the world.

   a) In this course, you have explored nationalism and developed your own understandings of this concept. With a small group, develop a mission statement for Canada. Your mission statement should reflect your understanding of nation, set out how you wish Canada to evolve, and take into account Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
   b) Maintain notes that track your progress toward developing your statement. Reflect on current Canadian laws and how they may need to be changed to reach the goals set out in your mission statement.

      These notes will also help you prepare for the four-corners debate on this statement: Individuals and groups should embrace a national identity.
   c) Share your mission statement with another group. Explain the process you went through to arrive at it. Ask the other group for feedback, and if necessary, revise your statement to reflect the feedback you received. Listen and comment as the other group shares its mission statement with you.
   d) Create a display that highlights your mission statement. Create a wall of statements by posting your mission statement along with those of others in the class. Be prepared to explain your statement and what will be required to achieve the goals it identifies.

4. The key course issue asks: To what extent should we embrace nationalism?
   a) Who is meant by "we" in this question?
   b) What nationalism do you think the question implies?
   c) Explain why you think this issue is — or is not — an important issue to consider.
   d) If you were asked to write an issue question for a course designed to help students develop an understanding of nationalism and its effects on identity, Canada, and other nations within Canada, what would your question say?

5. In a *Globe and Mail* opinion piece, Tom Kent, a former civil servant who served as principal assistant to Prime Minister Lester Pearson, wrote: "Most of us are proud to belong to a nation that welcomes diverse peoples and accepts many cultures. But present law permits, even encourages, confusion of loyalties and plurality of citizenship. The sense of Canadian identity is increasingly diluted."
   a) On the basis of this quotation, identify Tom Kent's position on multiculturalism.
   b) Write a statement on Canadian identity that you think Kent would agree with.
   c) Write a statement of Canadian identity that you think Kent would not agree with.
   d) Which statement would you agree with? Why?
6. Read the excerpts from the poem "I Am a Canadian." This poem was written in 1977 by Duke Redbird, poet, storyteller, actor, broadcaster, and member of the Saugeen First Nation in Ontario.
   a) What national identity is Duke Redbird expressing in this poem?
   b) In Chapter 6, you read about the response of many Turkish people to the assassination of Hrant Dink, who tried to draw attention to the Armenian genocide. People carried signs saying, "I am Hrant Dink." How is Duke Redbird's poem similar in spirit to the sentiments expressed by the Turkish protesters?
   c) Duke Redbird wrote this poem more than 30 years ago. Write a five-line stanza in a similar style. Your goal is to capture your feelings about Canadian identity today.

I Am a Canadian

I'm Sir John A. Macdonald
I'm Alexander Graham Bell
I'm a pow-wow dancer
And I'm Louis Riel
I'm the Calgary Stampede
I'm a feathered Sarcee
I'm Edmonton at night
. . .
I'm a maple tree and a totem pole
I'm sunshine showers
And fresh-cut flowers
I'm a ferry boat ride to the Island
I'm the Yukon
I'm the Northwest Territories
I'm the Arctic Ocean and the Beaufort Sea
I'm the prairies, I'm the Great Lakes,
I'm the Rockies, I'm the Laurentians
I am French
I am English
And I am Métis
But more than this
Above all this
I am a Canadian and proud to be free.

Think about Your Challenge

The second part of the challenge for this related issue asks you to participate in a consensus-building exercise in response to the key course-issue question: To what extent should we embrace nationalism?

Prepare a statement in response to this question. As you participate in the four-corners debate, which makes up the first part of the challenge, adjust your statement to reflect the new information, ideas, points of view, and perspectives you encounter as the debate unfolds.